/118 cont./

628 are not feasible. The villages remain /119/ dependent on one
182 another in economic, sociological, and political respects, in connection with which the frequent change of partners guarantees the multiplicity of the contacts. Politically independent, with equal rights, and not anchored in any superordinate organization, the villages are the knots in a tightly woven network of active mutual relationships, in part of a positive kind, in part negative; the tension inherent in these relationships represents, on the one hand, the dynamic factor and, on the other hand, the stabilizing factor in the social life of the Waika.

621 Up to now I have used the term village as though it represented a stable unit; if we look at its internal structure, however, it turns out that this local body, the settlement community, very tightly united in itself, again is made up of individual groups which are distinguished from one another on certain occasions.
621 In many cases the festivals of human beings rather than their daily
796 life offer the opportunity to recognize the nature of their social
182 grouping; during festive occasions the community itself is represented and confirms this representation in ceremonial. Among
621 the Waika the ceremonial gift-exchange was the key to under-
● 431 standing the village structure. That is, after a successful large-scale hunt, in which the men of almost every house take part, it is customary to exchange baskets of roasted meat and a few bananas within the village. This exchange takes place, however, not between the individual houses, but between groups of houses; no baskets of meat are exchanged within the same group of houses, but rather only to and from the houses of the other groups. The village investigated by us was divided, according to the paths of exchange, into three groups of houses, which -- perhaps by chance -- were arranged in strips: on both sides of the oval several houses were combined in a group, and the two houses opposite each other in the middle likewise did not exchange gifts.
621 Now the next step must be to look at the reflection of the
611 sociologically inadequate term "group of houses" on the kinship level: the members of the individual groups of houses are to be characterized, according to their kinship relations, as bilateral and bilocal groups of families.

/119 cont./

000 and bilocal groups of families. The group of families -- the
621 multiplicity of relationships permits no other designation --
● 431 is therefore the next smaller constituent element of the village unit; to be sure, the ceremonial gift-exchange emphasizes the subdivision of the village, in that it underlines the affiliation of the partner to one of the two other groups of families, but, on the other hand, also joins the three groups of families as common inhabitants of the same village.

It might now seem that the group of families, which appears in the gift-exchange as a functional unit, is only a chance conglomeration of nuclear families and thus of minor importance.
621 It comes into operation, however, on another decisive occasion,
166 namely, in connection with /120/ the migratory movements, which I shall sketch for you in a few words. The inhabitants of a
[361] village never remain longer than about three to four weeks in their
[342] main village, that clearing in the virgin forest with relatively permanently built houses; then they leave home for a period at least equally long, but seldom farther away than one to two days of travel, and build themselves in a favorable spot in the forest a row of small, triangular huts which are just large enough to provide room for a nuclear family, i.e., the parents and their unmarried children. The new place is chosen according to the
262 possibilities that it offers for gathering forest fruits and for hunting;
245 nevertheless economic reasons are not actually the cause for this
174 migration, for even during this period they continue to live from
166 the very fruitful banana planting near the main village. About every ten days a group of men go and fetch additional supplies of bananas, which the Waika today use for about 90 per cent
[222] of their diet. To be sure, during this forest period they live on
[224] gathered fruits and by hunting more than they do in the main village, and we shall therefore hardly go wrong in assuming that there are involved in these short-term forest sojourns traditionally preserved reminiscences of the era of pure hunting for wild food on the part of the Waika, undoubtedly still not very far in the past.

/120 cont./

621 166 241 These periodically recurring radial movements from a fixed center (the village with its planting) do not affect, in sociological respects, the substance of the village: normally the whole village migrates. In this respect, however, it is different with regard to a second type of village movement, which is not characterized by the going back and forth of the short forest-sojourns, but rather takes place over longer periods of time and only in one direction. The Waika live only about five years from one planting and then move to a new one laid out beforehand, which is usually about a day's journey away. Practically every village known to us has an old and a new planting, for since the chonta palm (Guilielma gasipaes), still cultivated today and useful in many ways, has a different life span than the various types of bananas, overlapping in the utilization of the plantings cannot be [173] avoided. If a newly established planting is bearing enough bananas, the whole village is moved to the new planting: the names and the site of earlier plantings are remembered exactly, however, so that from this the history of each individual village, i.e., its shifting in Waika territory, and consequently the history of the Waika themselves in their territorial aspect, can be reconstructed 621 for two to three generations. Such a move to a new place, how- 166 ever, is also the occasion for changes in the composition of the 161 village, for a split as a rule, for in the meantime, because of the 173 enormous /121/ surplus of births, which the Waika have to register today, the village has grown far beyond the limit of the number of persons that can be governed well under their institution-poor system. The partition of the village is not done at discretion, but exactly along the lines of separation indicated by the above- [431] mentioned composition by groups of families. One or more groups [182] of families are the bearers of the new villages, and the memory of the way the new village was founded by the union of several groups of families is ceremonially represented as shown, in the gift-exchange.

Surára
Pakidái

/23 cont./

411 individual archers. The aforementioned men then shot three arrows into the air successively (one with a large lancet-shaped point, one with a small lancet-shaped point, and one with a bone point), and each one hit the leaf, usually even the center of it. This Indian [114] ability to hit targets even with an indirect shot has already been pointed out by Friederici and substantiated in the sources (107).

107. Friederici, 1907, p. 329.

I also observed, however, that not all the men were equally good archers, although from childhood on, of course, they are constantly handling bow and arrow. My servant Mateus and I each carried a shotgun, 20 caliber, with us, and the use of our guns aroused the interest of only a few men. The aforementioned three Surára and the Pakidái, however, as well as several other warriors, after a very short time, knew how to handle them just as well as bow and arrow.

[114] Koch-Grünberg came to similar conclusions on his journeys, for he writes: "This is not to say that every Indian is an accomplished hunter. Among these people, too, talents and inclinations are unevenly distributed..." (108).

108. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 59.

[422] It should be mentioned further that bows and arrows repre-
[796] sent the most valuable private property of every man, and they
[856] also play a large part in all magical and religious practices (cures of the sick, festivals, dances, etc.). Furthermore, the weapons
[439] are favorite trade items and gifts of honor which the Surára and
[431] Pakidái occasionally receive from the Xiriána or give the latter during visits (see pp. 13, 159/160). A young man who wants to
[584] marry a girl must also first make a bow and five different arrows
[764] for his future father-in-law. /24/ If a warrior dies, his weapons are burned with him, so that he may use them on his journey to the moon and on the moon itself (see p.150).

411 Before the Surára and Pakidái adopted the large reverse flat
173 bow from the Xiriána, I was told, their forefathers were acquainted with only the branch-bow.

Surára
Pakidái

/102 cont./

755 [123] I was allowed to take part as a spectator in all the cures, and each rekurá was a new, great experience for me. I was 755 amazed at the devotion, passion, and fervor with which the 756 chief and his helpers interceded with all their physical and 622 psychic powers to ward off the sicknesses of their fellow-tribesmen (504). This explains why the Surára and Pakidái

[123]

504. The same care was bestowed upon me, the stranger. If I had an attack of malaria, the chief and his helpers likewise danced around me, and they sang in chorus while Hewemão stroked my body, massaged it, and sucked at it. He was of the opinion that the Waikâ had poisoned my blood because I lived in friendship with the Surára and had brought them so many beautiful gifts.

have such boundless confidence in their chiefs and are absolutely convinced of their magic powers. It is doubtless due to this unshakable faith that so many of the sick can be cured (505).

505. I never saw the chiefs demand a fee for their cures. The members of the tribe show their appreciation, however, by continuously offering their chiefs larger or smaller gifts (see p. 130).

[431]

755 In this context I should like to cite the following very re-756 vealing description by Herbert Baldus: "The witch doctors were 114 simply called imposters by early travelers, and even today all whites who are incapable of understanding the mentality of the Indian are of the same opinion. One forgets that, as a result of the suggestibility of the primitive, the magic practices not only essentially help the sick person and rid his relatives of their fears, but also weave such a spell around the practitioner himself that it is impossible to decide to what extent he is acting in good

/467/

Property and Ownership

423 Every man has property rights over the land which he has cleared for the planting of the "conuco," until he has abandoned it.

When a settlement returns to a former site, every man has the right to build his new dwelling in the same place where the previous one was, if he should so desire, even when the place might have been covered by the forest, as frequently occurs.

422 Every person possesses his own hammock and ornaments.

[423] The men are owners of the "conucos," the dwellings, the clay pots, hunting and fishing equipment, and that for making fire, and the machetes.

Women possess the baskets, the spinning equipment, the totumas for water, the bands for carrying children, the firewood, and the leaves of the roof.

Both the men and the women may possess axes, knives, mirrors, beads, or other objects which they might have made or acquired.

437 Objects change ownership either by gift or by barter. Bartered objects are generally those which cannot be made or obtained by everyone. These include foreign articles (e.g., machetes, matches, etc.) and also domestic articles which are made only by certain persons or products which everyone does not have the ability to make successfully (e.g., clay pots for cooking, the strongest type of "yopo," totumas for water, and shafts for arrows).

• 431 Articles to which each and every person has access, such as foodstuffs, water, baskets, and small totumas or gourds, are generally given away when they are divided up. Sometimes even scarce articles are given to intimate friends.

[572]

inter-village visiting and solidarity, for one trade is usually the prelude to another. For example, the Bisaasi-tedi obtain much of their spun cotton and curare arrow points from their Shamatari allies. It takes considerable time and labor to accumulate these items. When the Shamatari are visited by the Bisaasi-tedi, the latter make known their desire to have these items, and their hosts promise to produce them. When the items are accumulated, the Shamatari visit the Bisaasi-tedi to inform them their cotton and arrow points are ready. A feast is arranged and the items are given over to the Bisaasi-tedi after the celebration terminates. The Shamatari then request specific items from their hosts, and the cycle continues. Neither village is completely 'paid up' regarding goods it owes to the other, so that each exchange as Mauss (1954) argued, brings forth another.[1] The imporant point is that Yąnomamö trading is not stimulated by naturally occuring shortages or monopolies on resources; artificial shortages are <u>created</u> and these promote visiting between allies. In Durkheimian terms, the division of labor, irrespective of the causes, promotes organic solidarity between allied villages. And, the kinship category most intimately involved in the trading is the brother-in-law.

Affinal ties between villages, therefore, owe their

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[1] The parallel between this and bride price payment in Burma is striking. See Leach, 1957. It is worth noting at this point that the Yąnomamö have no word for 'free' or 'gift'; the closest they can come to it is: "something given without cause." But nothing is given without cause, and they shrewdly keep track of all debts.